IKE'S NAZI VISITORS BY MILTON FRIEDMAN

THE Nation

October 24, 1953

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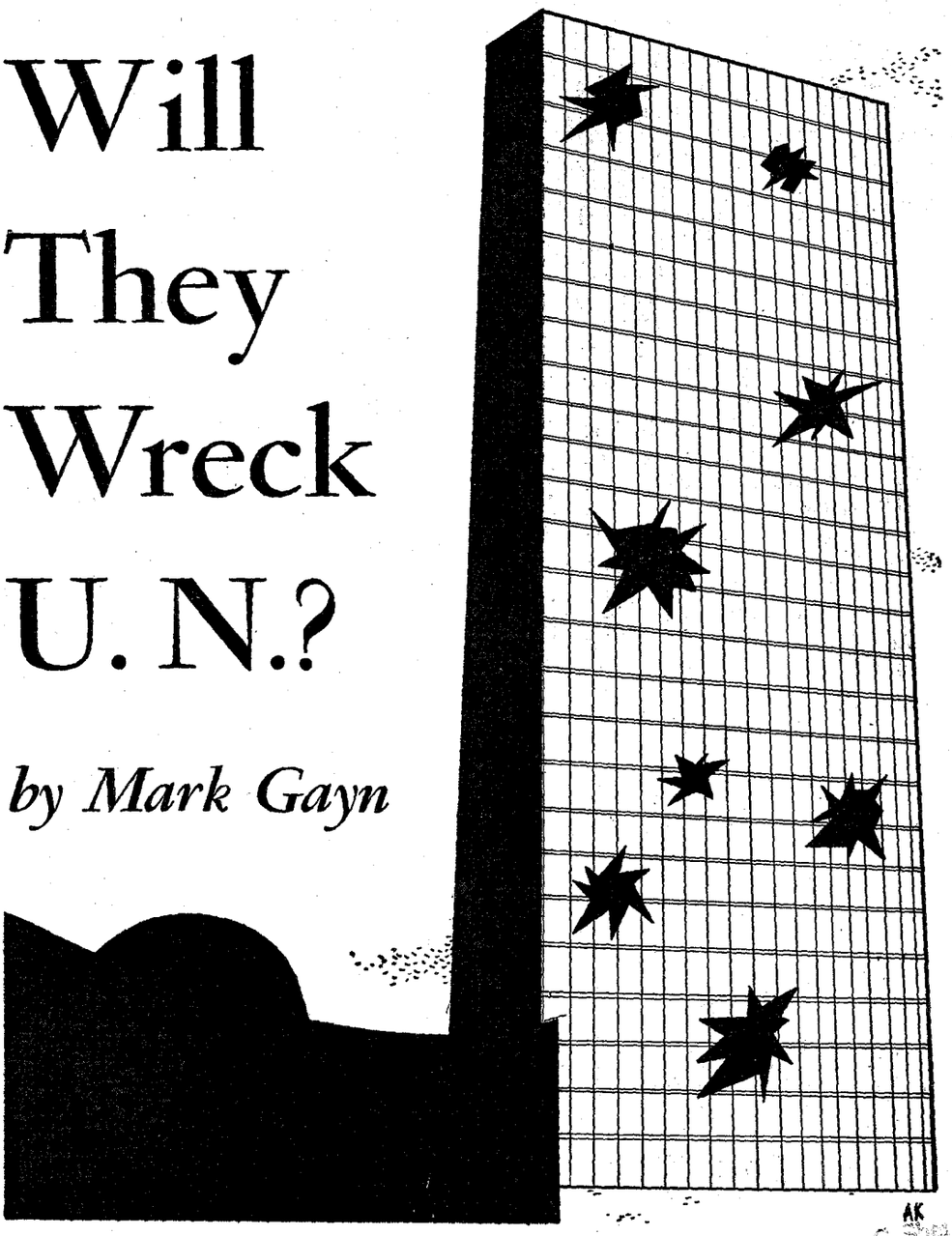
Will They Wreck U. N.?

by Mark Gayn



EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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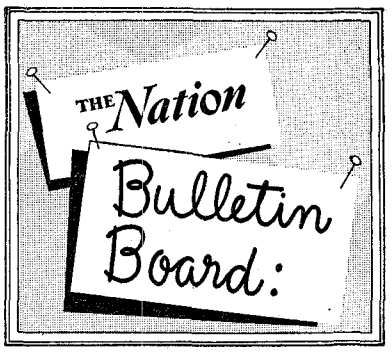

FOR MONTHS now we've been haunting the well-carpeted lairs of New York book publishers to learn something about their problems. Object of our quest was to bring to fruition a long-time *Nation* goal—the founding of a book club which would suit the diverse but generally liberal tastes of our subscribers. We're happy to say, as announced last week, that we did find a formula and that we're well on the way to starting the club.

As a matter of fact, we had already made some preliminary gambits to ascertain how *Nation* readers would regard the idea of buying books through the magazine. You may recall we offered Lord Jowitt's book on the Hiss case last summer, and currently readers may buy the forthcoming biography of the elder La Follette at a very handsome discount (see back cover).

Our readers bought the Hiss book at such a brisk pace that the sales elicited considerable comment from publishers. Furthermore, our experience with this book—and with subsequent books—was a great help in working out our pending book club.

We're going to launch the club—which we're calling *The Nation's Choice*—at the end of next month with every expectation that it will develop into a source of great benefit to *Nation* subscribers. Incidentally, ONLY, BUT ONLY, subscribers will be able to reap the benefits of the club.

. . . Our editors could be taking credit for a neat bit of editorial omniscience in publishing last week's article by Ritchie Calder on Anglo-American atom-bomb relations. The piece appeared at the same time that front-page stories broke about new A-bomb tests in Australia. However, it was scheduled months before there was any inkling of the tests. It was just the fortuitous concourse of atoms.

. . . Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, whose article on The Citizen and the Free School in our issue of October 10 brought many favorable comments, has a new book scheduled for late fall publication: "On Education and Freedom" (Schuman, $4). It is Dr. Taylor's thesis that the colleges and universities "now occupy the center of intellectual and moral controversy formerly occupied by religious institutions, when the Protestant movement was struggling to gain and hold its independence and the free-thinkers were struggling to gain independence from the Protestants."

. . . We've received both pro and con comments on our publication of Ray Bradbury's story, The Garbage Collector. We invite more statements from our readers on how they feel about this story—and generally about the publication of fiction in *The Nation*. We're also interested in your opinion about some of our recent illustrated covers. Actually, they're designed primarily for subscribers and not as an aid in newsstand sales. About all you see on most newsstands is the upper right-hand corner of *The Nation*. Our real problem is how to enlarge this upper right-hand corner. Any suggestions?

. . . *Nation* contributors Frederick L. Schuman and Hans Morgenthau will be taking part in what promises to be a fascinating forum (December 2 and 3) sponsored by the Akron (Ohio) Civic Forum on its twenty-fifth anniversary. Subject of the forum is "What Is Communism? Who Is a Communist?" Other participants include Robert C. Hartnett, S. J., of the magazine *America*; S. J. Stoessle, Jr., of the State Department's Russian desk; Adam Watson of the British embassy; and a representative of the Yugoslav U. N. mission. The aim of the forum is "a scholarly and unemotional examination of the most confused topic of the day." Interested readers can write for further details to the Akron Civic Forum, 119 N. Highland Avenue, Akron, Ohio. MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Yes, Yes! . . .

Dear Sirs: The Garbage Collector by Ray Bradbury [October 10] struck me as one of the freshest pieces produced by *The Nation* since the departure of Diana Trilling, Margaret Marshall, and Joseph Wood Krutch. . . .

Ruxton, Md. JOHN C. SMEDLEY

. . . No, No!

Dear Sirs: Having reached such a low as to publish the psychotic raving you called a "short story," I suggest you rename your magazine *Garbage Collector*.

New York MRS. G. BLACK

Apology to Mr. Williams

Dear Sirs: My article about Aubrey Williams in *The Nation* of October 10 has to my great regret brought exceptions from Mr. Williams himself. I quoted him as saying that "a Negro's life is worth less than a dog's around here." He intended the remark to refer to the Birmingham area of Alabama, and not to Montgomery, which he considers one of the better spots, although still regrettably "Jim Crow" in almost everything. "No one has had their house burned for opposing segregation in Montgomery," Mr. Williams said. "I have advocated the abolition of segregation all the time I have lived here and have not suffered molestation, nor do I expect to." Mr. Williams feels that other remarks I attributed to him in this connection were unfortunate in that I "left so much out."

It was of course farthest from my intentions to distort my conversation with Mr. Williams in my article about him. My deep admiration for him led me perhaps to be extreme.

Livingston, Ala. ALFRED MAUND

Old Age Security

Dear Sirs: A National Federation for Old Age Security is being organized with the idea of uniting all possible pension groups into a broad federation. The common goal is national old-age pensions and better conditions for the aged. Members all over the country are contributing to the writing of a temporary constitution; groups are giving support and expressing ideas on membership, indorsement, and affiliation; and all pending legislation is under study.

Membership costs you $1, which sum applies to the first-year dues. You will then receive all reports and have a voice in policy. Please address me at Route 1, St. Maries, Idaho, for information.

St. Maries, Idaho LOUISE DENNIS

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Volume 177, Number 17
New York, Saturday, October 24, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Saturday Is U. N. Day

This issue of *The Nation* appears on U. N. Day, the world's only official international holiday. But the regard in which most of the world still holds the U. N. is currently of less moment than the forces arrayed against it in this country. Unhappily ours are the money, the prestige, and the real estate.

The problem is beyond the U. N.'s power to solve. As Mark Gayn points out (see page 326), the world organization has become a domestic political issue. Extreme right-wing Republicans—and Democrats—have borrowed the hate-U. N. motif from the crackpots and are using it to rally reaction. The U. N. Charter comes up automatically for revision in 1955, an issue ready-made not only for next year's Congressional election but for debate and possible Congressional action in 1955. And in the 1956 Presidential election the U. N. could well become a major issue.

But if the attack on the U. N. is political, then its defense must be organized politically. So far no political organization and no political leadership have appeared to do the job. Five years or more of witch hunting have taken their toll of the liberal movement in this country; people hesitate to ring doorbells, join committees, sign petitions. Many organizations doing an excellent educational job are enjoined from *political* action by their tax-exempt status. Nor has it helped that the original concept of a bipartisan foreign policy has evolved into the concept of an authoritarian policy which it is heresy to criticize.

To save the U. N., these difficulties must be surmounted. They can be. The U. N. itself should be used as a means of mobilizing maximum liberal strength, just as its opponents are using it to mobilize reaction. On such an issue—the saving and strengthening of the U. N.—the entire roster of democratic forces can unite. It is within this context that Mr. Gayn's plea to organized labor to rally to the organization's cause has real meaning. What is needed is leadership for political action.

Wisconsin Whirlwind

The country has caught the clear accents of the farm revolt involved in the unprecedented election of a Democrat from Wisconsin's Ninth Congressional District. What the press is hiding is that the election has significance far beyond the dissatisfaction with declining farm income.

There is no question about the decisiveness of Lester Johnson's sweep of the farm areas in the district which less than a year ago voted overwhelmingly Republican. But there is no question either about his sweep of the city vote, of which Republicans had been supremely confident. In the city of Eau Claire, the only large industrial center in the district, Johnson carried thirteen of the sixteen wards, including nine which had gone Republican last year. He came within forty votes of carrying Chippewa Falls, his opponent's home town and the district's second largest city.

The election cannot be explained simply by saying that the farmers are in rebellion against Secretary Benson. The pattern of general revolt against the Eisenhower Administration is too obvious in the results. On the farms, in the villages, and in the cities, where Eisenhower ran powerfully last November, the people cast a "protest" vote against what is going on in Washington.

They Didn't Like Ike

The Republicans made the issue clear during the campaign. Senator Bridges came into the district to warn that the defeat of the Republican, Arthur Padrutt, would be "a stunning blow against the Administration." Governor Kohler also campaigned for Padrutt, using the same theme. Padrutt's own campaign slogan was: "Give President Eisenhower a real helper on his team."

When it was over, Padrutt said: "The results show very clearly that the farmer and laboring man do not like the present Administration's policies and took this opportunity to show their displeasure." He could have added, from a look at the urban results, that a lot of white-collar people joined labor and the farmers in expressing their dissatisfaction.

One of the most hopeful things about the election is its indication that people are beginning to become aware of the fact that their pockets are being picked. It indicates that people are fed up with the "bankers' administration," with the giving away of the public domain, and with government of, by, and for General Motors. It shows that even in McCarthy's home state the voters are tiring of the Senator's medicine shows and are hearkening at long last to the really important domestic issues

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which the Administration is either bungling or evading. And finally it indicates that the legend of the President's popularity is beginning to get shopworn around the edges.

More Political Troubles

Within the last few weeks the Eisenhower wing of the Republican Party has run into trouble outside of Wisconsin. With the appointment of the new Chief Justice, California has at long last been "liberated" from the strange brand of fusionist, or, more accurately, "confusionist," politics practiced so successfully by Mr. Warren. California tips the political scales in the Far West; its electoral votes are worth the combined votes of the other Western states. "Goody" Knight, the new governor, is a distressingly mediocre politician whose extreme right-wing politics will not be popular in California. On the East Coast, Governor Dewey is working round the clock to blow down a gorgeous political scandal involving labor racketeers, underworld big shots, and top Republican officials. In New Jersey the administration of Governor Driscoll has been seriously discredited by revelations of political corruption, and the name of the Driscoll-indorsed candidate for governor in the November 3 election has now cropped up in the New York scandal. More important, the Republicans took a merciless drubbing in the recent Connecticut municipal elections, despite the fact that the state chairman urged support of all party nominees as an indorsement of the Eisenhower Administration.

California, New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey have been strongholds of the Eisenhower elements of the Republican Party; they may not be in 1954. But the ultimate beneficiaries of these recent developments may be, not the Democrats, but the go-it-alone right-wing Republican extremists.

Settlement at Arma

After a nine-and-a-half-week strike, precipitated when 158 I. U. E.-C. I. O. workers were fired in violation of seniority (Strike at Arma by Herbert Orrell, August 29), approximately 5,000 shop men, draftsmen, and engineers are now back at work at the Arma Corporation defense plant in Long Island. For the first time in this country white-collar engineers, traditionally anti-union, pooled forces as a group with shop workers in a labor struggle. The outcome was mixed, but on the whole favored the strikers. The I. U. E. won reinstatement of its 158 workers and preserved its "bumping," or promotion, rights. The engineers won a small wage increase, the extension of their contract until 1955, and other minor concessions, but had to yield on certain procedural matters affecting future negotiations. A prolonged fight over overtime ended in compromise.

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The big fact that emerges from the walk-out is that white-collar engineers, in common cause with technicians and production workers, were able to hold their own against a tough and skilled negotiator for management. Their solidarity and steadfastness have strengthened engineer unionism and given a lift to the parent organization, the Engineers and Scientists of America. The story of Arma should hearten white-collar workers everywhere.

Negotiating from Arrogance

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE British Prime Minister may have returned to Downing Street too late to repair the damage done by his subordinates and his chief ally during his months of forced retirement. Certainly he won't do it merely by waving the big stick at Israel, Guiana, and Yugoslavia and snubbing France. His immediate job is not so much to insist on the pride and power of the Empire in its dealings with lesser nations as to stand up to the United States on major issues.

The idiotic decision on Trieste must obviously be retracted, in effect if not in words, unless the Western Allies want to risk war on the Adriatic and a considerable diplomatic victory for Russia. While the application of gunboat rule in the Caribbean has won prompt support from a Republican State Department, it will be resented all over Latin America, even where discretion forbids open protest, as well as in the colonial areas, the Middle East, and Asia. As for the harsh rebuke to Israel, this too carried a note of arrogant dictation which suggests that Britain has forgotten it no longer exercises a mandate over Palestine and likes to pretend Jordan is an independent state. The reciprocal hostilities between Israel and Jordan are ugly and threatening enough to have warranted consideration by the Security Council; they do not by any stretch of the imperial imagination justify unilateral orders from Whitehall or Washington. No doubt all these issues called for consultation by the three foreign ministers in London, but not for decisions which could only reinforce the growing impression that wisdom and concern for peace were being sacrificed to a display of power for its own sake.

So it seemed, at least, as the conference ended last Sunday. Nor was this impression weakened by the proposal to Moscow of a new four-power foreign minister's meeting to discuss Germany and Austria. It should be clear by this time that another such meeting can only chew on stale crusts. Germany remains the key to any settlement between Moscow and the West, but the key cannot be used to good effect unless both sides know what lurks behind the door. This is the reason Sir Winston has pressed for private, informal talks among the top leaders. He is not looking for the sort of deal that might emerge from talks tied to a tight agenda prepared in advance. What he is looking for are understandings on certain basic tenets and approaches.

At a hazard, we suppose he wants the United States to convince Russia that it does not intend to march, or arm or finance or incite others to march, into Eastern Europe to "liberate" the area from Moscow and its own Communist regimes. We suppose he wants to assure Russia and Poland that Germany will not be encouraged or permitted to try to get back its lost provinces by force of arms. On the other side, we imagine he wants Moscow to agree, on the basis of such assurances, to pull its armies out of the satellite states and permit their political future to be determined by political means. He may be prepared to ask for an end to the more hostile forms of propaganda and espionage, and to persuade both sides to wipe out artificial political restrictions on trade. This at least is the sort of political truce and cold-war demobilization which is needed and could only be arranged by principals acting behind closed doors, free from destructive sniping, domestic or foreign. If successful it would make possible a realistic settlement in Germany and Austria, with enough solid advantages all around to enable both to maintain prestige and disarm political enemies ready to charge a sell-out the moment a concession is hinted.

IT IS hard to believe that Sir Winston has relinquished the hope of making such an attempt; hard both because he is a stubborn, self-assured person who likes to have his own way, and because he is a master-politician who knows that the future of his government is today in the balance. His forced absence—and that of Anthony Eden—put Tory foreign policy at the mercy of the inept, reactionary Salisbury and the ever-cautious permanent officials at Whitehall. Between them they allowed Mr. Dulles to shoulder the Churchill proposal aside, and by doing so they drove down the popularity-rating of the Conservative Party to a new low and equally raised that of the Labor opposition. If the Prime Minister hopes to retrieve the fortunes of his government—and who can doubt that he does?—he cannot afford to let his plans be twisted to suit the quite different political designs of the Republican Administration in Washington. The conference just ended seems to have done exactly that. Sir Winston knows the country wants a solid, honest attempt to reach a live-and-let-live deal with Russia; it is not interested in a demonstration that Britain still knows how to throw its weight around and still, reinforced by America, has weight to throw. But if he is to act on his knowledge he will have to do it soon, before the chance of talking calmly with the Russians has been forever lost; it may be too late even now.

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

Report on South Africa

Geneva

THE United Nations is so closely identified in the general mind with New York, where the Assembly and the Security Council meet, that few people realize how much important work the organization is doing in this quiet and beautiful city. Geneva is ideal headquarters for a commission of inquiry, for here it can escape the political pressures issuing from the delegates working in Manhattan and from the embassies established in Washington. In Geneva the commission set up by the Assembly to inquire into and report on the racial situation in South Africa has been working hard for the past five months. Its three members are Santa Cruz of Chile, former president of the U. N. Social and Economic Council, Laugier of France, former Assistant Secretary General of the U. N., and Bellegarde of Haiti. Their report is soon to be presented to the General Assembly in New York. For once the members were chosen for their character and independence and not for their national origin. They have had no other aim than to establish the truth, and in this case the truth is not pleasant.

The racial unrest in South Africa is an old story but one which is insufficiently known, although it has been an international issue since last year, when the Nationalist government of South Africa, defying the public opinion of the world and, later on, the warnings and reproaches of the United Nations, made *apartheid* its major policy. The racial problem, exacerbated by segregation and restricted rights of travel, work, and franchise—all justified by supposed precepts of religion, blood, and social hierarchy—is much older than the *apartheid* doctrine. But the Nationalist Party, in power since 1948, has had the sad honor of being the first to embody in national law discriminations hitherto locally or partially applied.

The Nationalist policy is based on the principle that the white race, as the heir of Western civilization, has the duty of maintaining permanently and at any price its position of domination over the colored majority. Hence white supremacy must be embodied in laws, decrees, and supplementary measures giving complete

Prime Minister Malan

power to the white, or European, 20 per cent of the population and condemning the remaining 80 per cent to perpetual indignity. The report of the U. N. commission thus courageously describes the situation created by the segregation laws.

The three million Bantus who live in the "native reserves," comprising just over 9 per cent of the area of South Africa, have little chance to cross either the geographical or the social frontiers drawn by the whites. Under no circumstances may a non-European aspire to become the husband or the wife of a white person. He may leave his "ghetto" only if he is granted a special permit to go to another province. If he works in one of the privileged "white" areas, he must renounce the right of freely walking the streets after sunset, and he needs another special permit to seek a job outside his reserve. He is not allowed to forget his troubles in a consoling drink; should he buy a bottle of liquor, punishment would be visited on both him and the person who sold it.

Many restrictions extend to all non-Europeans. They may not study at the universities of Pretoria or Pochefstrom or be elected to Parliament. Their right to vote is exceedingly limited; it is, in fact, only half a vote. Even certain mechanical jobs which labor regards as "aristocratic," such as driving a locomotive or operating an elevator in the mines, are forbidden to dark-skinned workers.

The commission's report points out that two additional discriminatory measures are expected shortly to be approved by the South African Parliament. One is designed to assure that only Malan's brand of "Christian National" dogma, including racialism, will be taught in the country's schools. The other will ban all non-white trade unions. "I am not prepared to recognize native trade unions," declared Minister of Labor Schoeman, in urging this bill. "I won't consult native trade unions because I want them to disappear." The language is certainly unequivocal.

IF THE doctrine of racial differences and superiorities upon which *apartheid* rests is scientifically false, it is also politically absurd. Dr. Malan and the other Nationalist leaders in South Africa should realize that, politically speaking, the situation they have created is sure to explode one day and destroy their regime. The U. N. commission reports on the rate of growth of the non-European population of the Union. Within a generation, by about 1980, the Europeans will form only 17.9 per cent of the total population. And the non-European population is not only increasing faster than the white minority; it is also acquiring an ever larger group of remarkable leaders trained by struggle and adversity to carry on the movement of resistance against discrimination. Their efforts are supported not only by India and Pakistan, the countries of origin of many thousands of non-European South Africans, but also by the formidable anti-colonialist movement now shaking the continent of Africa and exercising steadily increasing influence in the United Nations.

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The U. N. commission was asked by the Assembly "to study the racial situation in the Union of South Africa" and "to submit its conclusions." Since Dr. Malan and the South African delegation have repeatedly asserted that the treatment of non-whites in the Union is no business of the United Nations, the commission had to make clear in what way South African policy violates the letter and spirit of the Charter. The commission declares that the whole body of discriminatory legislative and administrative measures contradicts "the solemn declaration of the preamble of the U. N. Charter," which calls upon member nations "to realize international cooperation by . . . encouraging respect for the rights of man and the fundamental freedoms of all people without distinction of race, sex, language, or religion." It also contravenes Article 55, according to which the United Nations is supposed to "create the conditions of stability and well-being required to assure peaceful and friendly relations between the nations." "Therefore," the commission concludes, "the measures taken to implement the policy of *apartheid* represent a failure on the part of the government of the Union of South Africa to fulfil the obligation it contracted under the Charter 'to act, both conjointly and separately, in cooperation with the Organization of the United Nations, with a view of attaining the aims announced in Article 55.'" In support of its thesis the commission quotes all the Assembly's resolutions on race discrimination.

IKE'S NAZI GUESTS

The Luftwaffe Reborn? . . *by Milton Friedman*

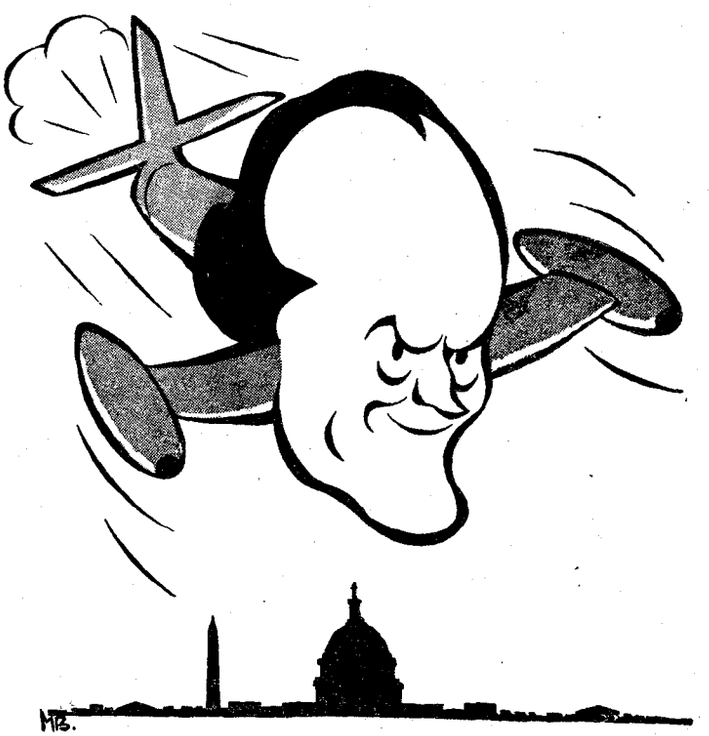
Washington

DR. WILLY MESSERSCHMITT was experimenting with the first all-metal aircraft in Germany in 1928 when President Calvin Coolidge invited various aviation personalities, including Germans, to a dinner to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Wright brothers' first flight. Last Wednesday, on the fiftieth anniversary of the same occasion, another Republican President showed his interest in powered flight by welcoming to the White House Dr. Messerschmitt and other manufacturers of German military planes, together with aviation pioneers from twelve other countries. Dr. Messerschmitt brought with him not only touching memories of the Wright brothers but a briefcase full of plans for a rejuvenated Luftwaffe.

President Eisenhower might have recalled that the names of some of his guests had appeared in Pamphlet 31-110A, issued March 23, 1945, in which the War Department suggested that the United States army, then under Eisenhower's command, should take into custody as dangerous Nazis three of the gentlemen he greeted here—namely, Dr. Messerschmitt, Helmut Sachse, and Gerhard Fieseler. According to the War Department, these men had "thrived under National Socialism, welcomed it in the beginning, aided the Nazis to obtain power, supported them in office, shared the spoils of expropriation and conquest, or otherwise markedly benefited in their careers or fortunes under the Nazis."

A fourth aviation expert who visited the White House was General Wolfgang von Gronau. The General's interest in aviation goes back to the Spanish civil war. His earlier achievements were noted in the 1934-35 edition of the "Deutsche Führerlexicon," a who's who of leading Nazis.

The air pioneers were invited to the United States by the National Aeronautical Association to take part in a program arranged by an anniversary committee headed by General James H. Doolittle, now vice-president of the Shell Oil Company. Dr. Heinz Krekeler, the German ambassador in Washington, represented the Bonn government at a dinner honoring the visitors. Russia was



Dr. Willy Messerschmitt

MILTON FRIEDMAN is a Washington newspaperman who covers the White House.

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"represented" by Igor I. Sikorsky, whose views do not reflect those of the present government of that country. Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, in an address entitled "Aviation as an Instrument of Peace," said of the German and other aviation pioneers: "History will remember them. Our generation is grateful to them. This audience honors all of them." Each of the visitors, Germans included, received a medal and scroll "in recognition of his contributions."

Travel expenses for members of Congress who attended the dinner were authorized by Public Law 32, passed in the last Congressional session. This joint resolution described aviation as a "social force which has recast the world" (it certainly "recast" Rotterdam and Warsaw) and provided for participation of the Defense Department and a joint House-Senate committee in the arrangements for the anniversary.

Protests against the presence in the United States of men who in 1945 had been described by the War Department as Nazis were sent to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson. No response was noted. Both Dulles and Wilson were members of the national committee for the aviation celebration. Herbert Hoover helped to arrange it. President Eisenhower was thanked for "excellent cooperation."

THE GERMAN delegation is advancing negotiations begun some time ago for the reactivation of the Luftwaffe. In the plan to remilitarize Germany, Bonn gave top priority to aviation, believing that public opinion in Western Europe would accept a German air force with less protest than German infantry or *Panzer* divisions. Envisioned as the most powerful in Europe, the German air force will be started off with more than 1,300 aircraft and a personnel of 80,000. (The French air force contains fewer than 65,000 men.) The German planning staff is headed by Colonel Richard Heuser, former chief of staff of Hermann Göring's Fourth Air Division. Colonel Heuser is now working out the details with the aid of the German member of the E. D. C. committee on defense allocations at SHAPE in Paris. General Hans Speidel, chief of staff of Rommel's Afrika Korps, has submitted plans—said to have been unofficially approved by the United States—for some twenty fighter and fighter-bomber wings to support a mobile army of twelve divisions.

After Nazi Luftwaffe officers, including an aide to Göring, were entertained by the United States air force at Wiesbaden, Germany, on April 21, Senator Herbert H. Lehman wrote the Department of the Air Force that he had received letters from American ex-fliers who felt this honor to the Nazis "mocked at the sacrifices made during World War II." He was informed that "such action was in consonance with the foreign-policy objectives of the United States in that area in connection with the common defense against communistic aggression." It was a "good-will gesture," he was told; the surviving members of the Richthofen Squadron were entertained, and it was only "coincidental" that several had "served in World War II as high-ranking officers." At Wiesbaden the German fliers were luncheon guests of the deputy commander of the American air force in Europe. They were treated to a special aerial demonstration of F-84 and F-86 jets and shown the latest equipment at the American air base at Landstuhl.

WILL THEY WRECK THE U. N.?

The Reactionary Drive . . *by Mark Gayn*

United Nations

IN THIS glass-walled skyscraper on the East River people behave as if they were manning a beleaguered outpost on hostile shores. Once, when this magnificent building was still going up, there was jubilation, for the structure seemed a material assurance that the United States would not shirk its responsibilities after World War II as it did after World War I. Today is a time of disillusionment, for everyone here feels the United Nations is chained to this piece of valuable real estate, and with it to the internal crises shaking the United States. Willingly or not, the United Nations finds its life affected by the squabbles within the Republican Party, by America's growing mood of isolationism, and by the entire complex of fears, frustration, and intolerance which is so much a part of the American scene today.

MARK GAYN, well known as a foreign correspondent, has been covering several aspects of the U. N. General Assembly for The Nation.

See editorial, Saturday Is U. N. Day, on page 321 of this issue.

Morale here is bad, and despondency is heightened by the well-timed Congressional raids, by the American threats to pull out of the United Nations if it does not toe the line, and by the ceaseless sniping of the unfriendly press. Five years ago there would have only been a chuckle for the announcement of a pompous and irresponsible columnist that he would dance on Forty-second Street the day the U. N. was driven out of the United States and the building divided into apartments. Today this is no laughing matter. Who can be sure that the man is not a good prophet?

Officially, the U. N. is above taking cognizance of these attacks. It is bound hand and foot by diplomatic custom, by the reluctance to antagonize the Americans, and by the sense of futility. But the point of indifference has long been passed. Today some officials are compelled to give their full time and thought to this torrent of abuse—even if there is very little they can do about it.

What makes the campaign against the

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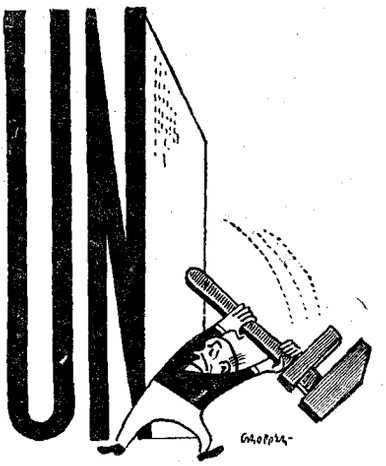
U. N. especially significant is that it offers a common encampment to the entire corps of the self-styled "conservative-rightists." The old exponents of political and social hooliganism, with the odor of the Nazi *Bund* still fresh on them, are here in force. But along with them march new figures, with different stakes and objectives. One can find among them movie stars who want income taxes cut, isolationists who seek control of the Republican Party, fanatics who would purge all "internationalist" notions in the schools and revive scholastic "fundamentalism," those who still hope to see General MacArthur in power, those who fear that the old American virtues are being undermined by the imported "Socialist" ideas, and even lobbyists who seek to break up labor unions, keep Negroes out of certain neighborhoods, and bar Jews from the desirable hotels.

WHATEVER their cause, for all of them the U. N. has now replaced the "New Deal" as a symbol of the evil each seeks to combat. In the thousands of clippings, pamphlets, and bulletins that I have read in the past two months the U. N. is equated with socialism ("which is but a narrow corridor to communism"), with the concept of an intolerably strong central government, with high taxes ("which go to pay for this bunch of U. N. foreigners"), with alien social, political, and educational ideas, with the "betrayal in Korea," and of course with treason and subversion.

One illustration of how the anti-U. N. theme is intertwined with all the themes of extreme nationalism and intolerance was provided by the "Congress of Freedom" held in Omaha on October 1-3. (Omaha was chosen because it is "in the heart of what is probably the greatest area of native-born in the United States.") Sponsored by something called "Operation America, Inc.," the conference drew an estimated 250 delegates, who were joined by some 350 'observers" and stray onlookers—a far cry from the "thousand or more" promised in the prospectus but still a good number. For chairman the sponsors picked Archibald B. Roosevelt, an investment banker and "Teddy" Roosevelt's only living son. The sponsors also invited, and ingeniously used, the names of Charles Lindbergh, General A. C. Wedemeyer, Whittaker Chambers, Representative Frederick R. Coudert, Jr., of New York, and Senator Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota, but none of these showed up. There were, however, among the speakers a New York Congressman, a past president of the American Bar Association, and one of General MacArthur's closest former advisers.



What was this "Congress of Freedom" concerned about? Representative Ralph W. Gwinn, the Republican statesman from New York, warned darkly that "we are already so sunk in socialism that it is too late to call a halt in Washington." Frank Holman, a Seattle corporation lawyer who has been traveling up and down the country attacking the United Nations and plugging the Bricker amendment, declared once again that the "treaty law as contemplated by the United Nations" was a threat to "individual rights and the right of self-government." Frank Chodorov, associate editor of a nauseating newsletter, *Human Events,* demanded the repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment, providing for income taxes (the income tax is "the open sesame to all our socialistic experiments"). The woman editor of an obscure New York publication, *Educational Reviewer,* and a professor from an equally obscure Indiana college rose to defend American education from "alien ideas" —including those carried in UNESCO pamphlets.

At their concluding session the delegates—"weary but determined," according to a friendly observer—agreed that "freedom in America is not being adequately protected." They also passed a flock of resolutions—approving the Bricker amendment, hailing the four musketeers of Congressional interrogation (Senators McCarthy, Jenner, and McCarran and Representative Velde), opposing federal aid to education and public health, urging repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment (income taxes), demanding the end of foreign aid, and branding the United Nations as "deplorably and unforgivably shameful."

SOME OF the faces behind these resolutions are familiar. They are the faces one finds at a time of emotional stress and uncertainty—the intense women with thin lips and shrill voices; the editors of obscure publications happy for a day in the limelight; the pathetic little woman in a red dress, decorated with Uncle Sam's hat in red, white, and blue; the bluff professional patriots; and the retired warriors ready to save the Republic from alien onslaught. Even the names of the organizations have a familiar ring —the Minute Women and the Liberty Belles, the National Blue Star Mothers of America and the Dames of the Loyal Legion of U. S. A., Operation America, America Plus and Pro America, the American Council for Christian Laymen and the American Heritage Protective Committee. There is a tawdry air about most of them, and a feeling of harsh intolerance.

But they are not alone in the field of ultra-nationalism. Harvesting beside them are the old professionals who have now added U. N.-baiting to the profitable job of attacking Jews, Negroes, Catholics, and labor unions. There is the flamboyant anti-Semite, Gerald L. K. Smith ("I sweat like a Georgia pig when I get going"), who now maintains that the United Nations is the instrument of a cabal of "Jewish Communists seeking to rule the world." There is Smith's young ally, W. Henry MacFarland, Jr., whose "American Flag Committee" was established in 1950 specifically to fight the United Nations. One of MacFarland's attacks on UNESCO reached a circulation of 500,000 after another U. N.-baiter, John T. Wood, at the time Republican Congressman from Idaho, inserted it in the *Congressional Record.*

There is Merwin K. Hart, the smooth-talking head of the National Economic Council, who mixes his defense of free-wheeling enterprise with attacks on the United Nations ("U. N. is a gigantic fraud.... It is a mechanism for fastening upon the world an international collec-

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tivism"). Hart's diatribes are reprinted occasionally in *Common Sense,* the organ of yet another "patriot," Conde McGinley. A four-pager with a paid circulation of more than 30,000, *Common Sense* once said, "The U. N. was inspired and set up by Marxist plotters and traitors like Alger Hiss to level down all governments and establish a Marxist 'world government'—World Slavery."

For many of these, baiting the United Nations is merely a profitable profession. But dollars and cents are not the only yardstick. Some of those who hate the United Nations do so in the genuine belief that it menaces the established American ideals or ties American hands in such key areas as Korea. Still others find in their attacks on the U. N. an outlet for excess energy, an opportunity to attract attention, or a way to express their suspicion of everything alien. The Southern racists, such as the Georgia Commissioner of Agriculture, Tom Linder, hate the United Nations because it appears to stand for racial equality. And champions of free enterprise fear and detest the International Labor Office, with its talk of fair wages, job security, and free health service.

Herblock in the Washington *Post*

"And Some of Those Countries Aren't American at All"

A GOOD example of a U. N.-hater is provided by one Myron C. Fagan, a playwright and political promoter from the West Coast. For the past four or five years Fagan has been hammering out a minor reputation for himself, not by his literary talents, but by his attacks on communism in Hollywood, forceful oratory in behalf of something called the Cinema Educational League, and pamphlets noted for their intemperance. One of Fagan's earlier Hollywood ventures was his presentation, on Christmas of 1947, of his play "Thieves' Paradise," dealing with Communist treachery in a mythical Balkan state. The play lasted six days. Blaming it all on the Reds, Fagan appealed for help to some women's clubs and the West Hollywood American Legion Post. The play reopened on April 12, 1948, with the Legion post supplying a color guard. Fagan marked the event by a curtain speech in which he named a hundred Hollywood figures as Communists or fellow-travelers. The play remained a dud.

By 1949 Fagan's attention turned elsewhere. He had already printed his "Red Treason in Hollywood" and "Documentation of the Red Stars in Hollywood," and he was now ready to devote his main attention to politics. Competent observers were describing him as the spearhead of the campaign to divert California Republicanism into nationalist and isolationist channels. His particular target at the moment was the eminently respectable United World Federalists, whom he called "a gang of the most notorious and crafty Reds in America." A hard-faced, intense man, Fagan traveled up and down the state, lobbying and addressing mass-meetings. At one such rally, at which the star speaker wore a red mask for disguise, Fagan claimed the support of Gerald L. K. Smith and the Reverend Wesley Swift, a one-time Ku Klux Klan organizer, Smith's former bodyguard, and one of California's most vicious anti-Semites.

By this time Fagan had established contacts with the country's leading extremists, and some newspapers and Jewish organizations began to view him with interest. On January 20, 1950, one William C. Ring, an attorney for Fagan, filed a suit charging the *Jewish Voice,* the largest Jewish newspaper in the West, with libel and denying its allegation that Fagan was associated with Gerald Smith or Wesley Swift. Fagan also sued the Anti-Defamation League, which is perhaps the outstanding body fighting intolerance in the United States today.

The suit languished until the end of August, when Attorney Ring sprang a major surprise. He filed his own suit, demanding that Fagan pay $4,709 due him for the preparation of the libel suit and charging that Fagan had collected and put into his own pocket "large sums of money that various Hollywood personalities had given him in the belief it was for bond in the slander case." Ring said that when he took up the case, Fagan denied any association with Smith and Swift but that now he, Ring, knew better. In proof he produced a letter he had received from Smith himself. "I hesitated," wrote Smith, "to be the one to give you the facts concerning the subsidy of Mr. Fagan by myself and others, but when one approaches a situation where he will be asked to say things under oath, then the situation becomes serious. . . . If I am put on the witness stand and take an oath to tell the truth, I shall have to say that I started the

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Cinema Educational League, I named it, I conducted the first meeting, raised the first money, turned the names over to Fagan and said, 'Sic 'em.'"

Fagan dropped the libel suit. A remarkably buoyant man, he was not, however, dismayed. The same month found him busy fighting the move to fly U. N. flags over the county buildings in Los Angeles County. The American Association for the United Nations, which backed the move, Fagan charged was "Communist-inspired." He was also busy with his dramatic activities. By early in 1951 he had written a play, "A Red Rainbow," dealing with treason in the United States. With no takers at home, the play was first presented in Dublin, Ireland.

HOW DID Fagan come to write his "Rainbow"? The story is told by Fagan himself in his Pamphlet No. 27, published eleven months ago and entitled "U. N. Is U. S. Cancer." Only a few Americans, Fagan says in it, realize "what a *dire menace* the U. N. is to the U. S. Few seem to know that Alger Hiss (with the help of other American traitors) created the U. N. *at the behest of Joe Stalin!* It is now *our* job to get the U. S. out of the U. N. and drive the U. N. out of the U. S.!!! Eisenhower won't do it on his own—we must *force* him to do it . . . because the United Nations is our country's *cancer.*"

With this for a starter Fagan reports that he arrived in Washington on January 14, 1946, for a conference with Representative George Dondero and Senator Arthur Vandenberg on the matter of "Red treason in high places in our government." Also present were several members of both houses, army and navy Intelligence officers, and secret-service operators. Among the revelations he heard was that Hiss had been a spy "throughout all the years that he was in the State Department. . .; that the entire State Department was *loaded* with Commies; and that all our top security secrets and codes had for many years been systematically delivered to Moscow. . . . Another open 'secret,' disclosed to me on that day, was that the blueprints of our highly secret Atom Bomb, *together with the material to make that bomb,* had been handed over to Moscow from the very inception of that project—*directly by order of Harry (the Hop) Hopkins* —no doubt with the knowledge and approval of *Uncle Joe's* long time patron saint in America, Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

Fagan reports he was also told that the U. N. was originally planned by Stalin, who early in the forties ordered Hiss and others to bring it into being. The reason Stalin wanted a U. N. was that if the Soviet embassy in Washington were ever closed, his agents could still freely move in and out of the United States.

Why was Fagan told all this? Vandenberg explained, according to Fagan, that the only way to smash the Red conspiracy was to put all the facts and names before the American people, and "You can do it by incorporating all the facts we have given you into a play." Fagan agreed. He was then granted interviews, he says, with other top officials and shown "top secret" archives. Fagan does not indicate why it took him three years to complete his "Rainbow." It finally had its American première in Los Angeles in May, 1952, and was received by the critics with mixed feelings.

But Fagan remained undeterred. He was intent on bringing the "Rainbow" to Broadway, and he knew how to go about it. In August, 1953, thousands of letters went out over his name to potential ticket buyers in New York. The letterhead read, "Committee for Americanism in the Theater," Room 300, 205 East 42d St., New York, and carried a list of eight sponsors. Among them were the ubiquitous John T. Flynn; Professor Willford I. King and Sumner Gerard, of the Committee for Constitutional Government; the Reverend (talk about the church in politics!) Henry Darlington, head of the Army and Navy Chaplains Association; and the Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S. J., president of Fordham University. One of the interesting things about this curious company was that its offices happened to be in the room already occupied by Edward Rumely's Committee for Constitutional Government, a notorious rightist propaganda organization.

The New York critics proved to be less charitable than their Los Angeles colleagues. John Chapman, of the *Daily News,* called it "the most subversive drama . . . since 'Grandma's Diary.'" Brooks Atkinson, of the *Times,* noted Fagan's belief that he was helping to save America but wanted to know "who is going to save America from Mr. Fagan?" Walter F. Kerr, of the *Herald Tribune,* explained that "the 'Red' in the title stands for communism. The 'Rainbow' stands for the light in the heaven the day communism takes over. The audience stands for more than can possibly be imagined." After the notices came out, Fagan decided to withdraw the play after eight performances; it actually survived a dozen.

Is this the end of Fagan? One strongly doubts it, for an operator who can find such sponsors, or who has the United Nations for an ever-inviting target, cannot perish. His anti-Semitic tones grow harsher; his attacks on the United Nations become more hysterical. And behind it all Fagan now nurses a new idea. Increasingly he is plugging the notion of "a new Party of Americans" that, unlike Eisenhower, will "hurl the U. N. out of the U. S."

I HAVE dealt with Fagan at such length not only because he is a busy enemy of the United Nations but also because his activities are a symptom of our times. How does a bigot like him prosper? What kind of political climate is it that encourages rabid denunciations and insane charges? How does an associate of Gerald Smith find sponsors among respected clergymen and presidents of great universities?

The answers lie in the fact that these seeming aberrations have now become an integral part of a far broader pattern. What Fagan and Gerald Smith say about the United Nations can be read, if usually in more moderate terms, in a hundred newspapers from coast to coast. The Daughters of the American Revolution denounce the U. N., and the American Legion magazine snipes at it. The slogan of the ultra-patriots, "Get the U. S. out of the U. N. and the U. N. out of the U. S.," comes out of the same spiritual womb as Senator Taft's declaration, made shortly before his death, that the U. S. could go it alone in Korea, and Senator Knowland's recent statement that if the United Nations admits Red China, the United States will walk out of the United Nations. The Senatorial efforts to "housebreak" the United Nations by investigations or by threats to stop payments to it if it persisted in giving severance pay to the dismissed

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American employees fit into the same broad framework.

Fagan is merely a signpost at the American crossroads, a symbol of the vast strains—and debates—in American national life. Should the United States go it alone, or should it, as President Eisenhower suggests, act in concert with other nations? Should it adopt an unyielding policy, or should it "give a little, take a little"? And these questions mesh, of course, with the question of who is to control the Republican Party and what course it is to follow—that of the "Old Guard," of the "Young Turks," of Knowland or McCarthy, or of the "moderates," like the President and Mr. Dulles? It is a tragic accident that the United Nations now finds itself involved in the Great American Debate.

Opinion polls show that the bulk of Americans are still behind the United Nations. But as a special committee of the Conference Group of the United States National Organizations on the United Nations notes, this fact may not mean as much as it seems to. In the face of the determined campaign by the U. N.-haters sentiment is changing. If six months ago the "blighted" anti-U. N. areas were confined to Southern California, central Florida, and Connecticut, the latest map I have seen included Texas, Illinois, Indiana, and the cities of St. Louis and New York.

Since the campaign against the United Nations is a part of the general malady, it is difficult to prescribe curatives for it. One cannot cure the hatred of the United Nations without curing the hatred of "creeping socialism," or the unions, or the Fair Employment Practices Act. All that can be prescribed is minor remedies. One is a vast educational campaign, designed to explain the value of foreign friends and obligations. Another might be a campaign of exposure, which would show who is behind the attacks on the U. N. and why. A California bigot, for instance, might love publicity on his Conference to Abolish the United Nations, but he would dread the disclosure of how much money the conference had added to his own bank account. Has any government agency checked the income taxes of the more prosperous merchants of hate? (Gerald Smith wrote last year that his office was spending $100,000 a day.)

ALL THESE, of course, are minor and negative measures. Positive action is possible only when major segments of the population realize what is at stake in the campaign against the United Nations. One such segment is represented in America's great labor bodies. Unfortunately, almost none of them have yet shown any real awareness of the degree to which the destinies of organized labor are bound up with the fate of the United Nations, or the minorities, or the American schools. In California the same State Senator Jack B. Tenney who fraternized with Fagan and Smith, wrote a foul anti-Semitic pamphlet, and attacked the United Nations, also drafted the notorious "Freedom of Choice" amendment to the state constitution, which would have broken California unions. And it is a foregone conclusion that when the coming session of Congress early next year takes up the consideration of two virulently anti-labor bills, the foes of the United Nations will be among the most vigorous supporters of these bills. The two great labor federations in the United States seemingly have not yet learned that political climate is indivisible; a storm for the United Nations is also a storm for the labor movement. If the day ever comes when this is realized, organized labor may yet become a potent factor in American politics and world peace.

The United Nations is going through evil days largely because it was brought into existence in the era of "cold war." Things have been made even worse because the U. N. skyscraper happens to face, not Lake Geneva, but the East River, in a land racked by domestic fears and uncertainties. Things may get better, but U. N. officials as they watch the mailmen struggling in with the daily load of anti-U. N. propaganda, are frankly apprehensive. "It's terrible now," they say. "What will happen if and when there is a depression?"*

*Those who wish to read more in this field are recommended two new pamphlets: Gordon D. Hall's "The Hate Campaign Against the U. N." (Beacon Press, 50 cents) and Alexander Uhl's "The Assault on the U. N." (Public Affairs Institute, 25 cents). For a general study of hate-mongering there is at the moment nothing to match "The Trouble Makers," by Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, who prepared the volume with the help of the Anti-Defamation League (Doubleday, $3.50).

ITALIAN AMERICANS

Their Swing to G. O. P. . . *by Vincent R. Tortora*

ANALYSES of election results in our larger cities reveal that over the past fifteen years more and more Italian Americans of the first, second, and third generation have been voting the Republican ticket. The tendency acquires importance from the fact that Italian Americans are concentrated in the states which have the largest representation in the Electoral College and that they have frequently held the balance of power in some of the major cities in those states and thus in the states themselves. Oscar Handlin in his Pulitzer-prize-winning study of immigrants, "The Uprooted," predicts that even Boston will soon have to acknowledge Italian American political supremacy. No statistics are available, but authoritative estimates of the percentage of Italian Americans—ranging from the foreign-born to the second- and third-generation native-born with one Italian parent—in eleven states are as follows: Connecticut, 25 per cent; New York, 20 per cent; New Jersey, 20

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per cent; Rhode Island, 20 per cent; Massachusetts, 15 per cent; Pennsylvania, 10 per cent; Illinois, 9 per cent; California, 8 per cent; Ohio, 5 per cent; Michigan, 3 per cent; and Maryland 3 per cent.

New York City contains approximately 2,200,000 Italian Americans as defined above; Providence, 70,000; Buffalo, 75,000; Baltimore, 50,000; Philadelphia, 250,000; Pittsburgh, 200,000; Detroit, 155,000; and Chicago, 280,000. Examination of the vote in these cities shows that in the period from 1930 to 1936, inclusive, the average Republican vote in the Italian wards was 26 per cent, while in the whole city it was 38 per cent. The difference was in reality greater to the extent that the Italian American vote tended to pull the over-all vote toward itself.

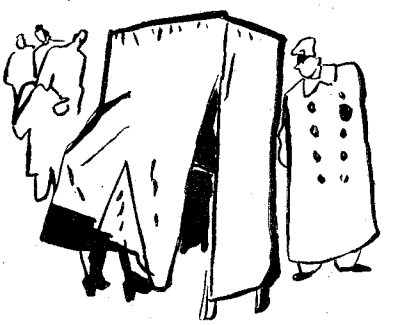
In the period from 1938 to 1940, inclusive, the average Republican vote in these same wards had risen to 35 per cent and the average over-all Republican vote to 43 per cent. Thus the Democratic margin among Italian Americans had dropped from 12 to 8 per cent.

In the period from 1942 to 1946, inclusive, the average Republican vote in Italian wards had risen another 9 percentage points to 44 per cent. The over-all Republican vote averaged but 42 per cent. At this point the Italian Americans voted more strongly for the Republicans than did the other voters in the cities considered. The Democrats were no longer able to take the Italian American vote for granted.

During this 1942-46 period solidly Italian American wards in Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Pittsburgh that had gone Democratic four to one in the 1930's on the average evenly divided their vote between the two parties. Several wards in Philadelphia that had been overwhelmingly Democratic ten years earlier now gave 60 or 65 per cent majorities to the Republicans.

SINCE THE beginning of the post-war period in 1946, the nationality composition of the traditionally Italian wards in these cities has changed in varying degree. In Manhattan, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Detroit, and Pittsburgh, Italian Americans have been moving out of sections long identified with them, and their homes have been quickly reoccupied by new immigrant groups and racial minorities. In Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chicago, and Providence enough Italians are left in the old sections to give them an Italian flavor even if it is somewhat attenuated.

Trends in Italian American voting have thus become more difficult to determine. It has been possible to establish, however, that in the sections into which large numbers of Italian Americans have recently moved the Republican vote, on the average, has increased 2 to 5 per cent. And by taking into account the proportion of other new immigrants and racial minorities—who usually vote Democratic—in the old Italian sections,



it can be determined that what is left of the Italian American vote there favors the Republicans, on the average, by 3 to 5 percentage points above the over-all vote.

In one of the East Side districts of Manhattan, for example, 40 per cent of the Italians have moved out and been replaced by new racial groups 90 per cent of whose members are found to vote Democratic. Subtracting the percentage of votes by these groups from the total percentage, we find that the remaining citizens, largely Italian Americans, have cast 49 per cent of their votes for the Republicans. Since during the 1948-52 period the Republicans obtained on the average 44 per cent of the votes cast in all New York, we must conclude that the Italian American trend away from the Democrats is continuing. The figures in other cities bear this out.

Attempting to find the reasons for this trend, I interviewed a number of first-, second-, and third-generation Italian Americans of varying occupations. Some, especially the foreign-born, revealed strong emotional and familial ties with Italy. They considered the unstable politico-economic conditions in post-war Italy and the ignominious Trieste impasse to be largely the fault of the Democrats, who had been in power. A surprisingly large proportion felt that the McCarran-Walter immigration act discriminated against their nationality. Numerous non-political Italian American organizations campaigned for a protest vote against the act. Since both McCarran and Walter were Democrats, the protest was registered by a vote for the Republicans.

WITHIN the last fifteen years the war, the generally higher economic standard, and the arrival of new, non-Italian immigrants have worked a marked change in the attitude of society toward the Italian American. Large numbers of young men of Italian descent have served in the army, studied in colleges and universities, gone into the professions or into business. With national prosperity high, much less social pressure has been exerted to keep them down. Puerto Rican immigrants have taken the place of Italians in the contempt of society. Exclusive clubs which once refused membership to "Italians, Greeks, Jews, and Colored" now admit the Italian American.

This change in social attitude and the Italian Americans' own improved financial status have enabled them to move away from the Little Italys. And just as they no longer live as a separate group, they no longer vote as a group. The psychology of group identification and group voting used so successfully by Democratic leaders among the Italians no longer applies. Reacting against the poverty and discrimination of their past, they tend now to consider the Democratic Party that of the menial laborer, the slum dweller—the class to which they belonged for so many years. The Republican Party represents the middle class, the surburbanites, which it has taken them so long to join.

Many of the foreign-born and second-generation Italian Americans interviewed mentioned as a factor in their voting switch the resentment they felt toward the Irish Americans. The Irish, having been immigrants themselves only a few years before, still felt insecure in American society when the mass immigration of Italians began. As the Italians began to compete for their jobs, the rivalry became intense and frequently erupted into violence. As a result of this feeling the church usually assigned one parish in a neighborhood to the Italians

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and another parish, perhaps only a block away, to the Irish. At the same time the Irish American politicians, realizing the vote potential of the newcomers, went to almost any extreme to curry favor with them. And in response the newly naturalized Italian voted Democratic.

But as the Italian American started on his upward social and economic climb, his dependence on the ward politician diminished. He became a thinking individual. He began to vote as he pleased. By vigorously pulling the Republican lever, he could give an outlet to his deep-seated antagonism to the Irish.

VATICAN BOOMERANG

French Worker-Priests . . *by Egon Pohoryles*

Paris

WHO is influencing whom? Are the French "worker-priests" turning the masses from Marxism to God, or are they being turned by their new associates from God to something close to Marxism? Their future depends on the results of the Vatican's inquiries.

The worker-priests were organized in 1943 to engage in "an apostolate of conquest in circles cut off from the church." Since the circle most cut off is the working class, whose members belong in the main to the Communist-led General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.), account for a majority of the Communist Party's 5,000,000 votes, and are often fiercely anti-clerical, the priests took jobs in factories and on farms, on ships and on the docks. Sometimes they revealed their identity to those around them; sometimes they did not. Their idea was to share the life of the workers in every way. If that meant standing the boys a drink or listening to an off-color joke, they were prepared to do it, just as they were prepared to partake in the workers' struggle for economic survival. As it turned out, it also meant engaging in the workers' trade-union and political activities. That is how the trouble started.

A priest living among the dockers of Marseille could hardly help feeling that the demands of the C. G. T. for higher wages and better conditions were justified. There was no appreciable increase in attendance at mass, but, the priests argued, one cannot talk God to people who spend all their lives trying to get enough to eat. One must fill men's stomachs before worrying about their souls. If organizations already existed to care for workers' stomachs, the worker-priests naturally joined them.

Some priests went farther. They felt they should not remain "with the others" at the base of the movement but if necessary assume responsibility and leadership. Priests not only joined the C. G. T. but became officers of C. G. T. locals and took part in the Communist-led peace movement. One worker-priest was killed while leading a picket line in Bordeaux. Two priests were arrested and beaten severely by the police while picking up men hurt in the anti-Ridgway demonstrations in Paris last year.

THE ORIGINAL Communist view of the worker-priests was indicated by Jeannette Vermeersch, wife of France's No. 1 Communist, Maurice Thorez, and a party power herself, when she said: "The imperialists, the government of the bourgeoisie and their Social Democratic valets, are making fantastic efforts to fool the working class. . . . With the aid of certain worker-priests . . . they are using demagogic, phony-laborite formulas to keep the worker in his place." But in April of this year eighteen worker-

priests were summoned before an ecclesiastical court by the president of the Catholic labor federation, the C. F. T. C., who considered himself libeled by a statement denouncing the federation which they had signed and which had been printed in *l'Humanité*, the Communist Party organ. After last August's strikes, the Communist paper of Limoges published an open letter signed by five worker-priests which criticized the C. F. T. C. for betraying the interests of the working class by ordering an end to the strikes.

Conservative Catholics in France, Italy, and Spain have felt doubtful about the worker-priests for some time and have asked the Vatican to look into their activities. "We sometimes have the impression," declared one Catholic paper, "that for them everything done by the right is reprehensible but everything is permitted on the left." Some Catholics termed them "Stalinist priests" and said that the movement had been infiltrated by young men who were already Communists or Communist sympathizers.

A papal emissary is now in France to gather information, and the worker-priests' diocesan superior has chosen this time to go to Rome for his annual *ad limina* visit. Meanwhile the worker-priests' seminary, after being forced to move from one diocese to another, has had its reopening indefinitely postponed, and seminarists have been forbidden to take jobs. The opinion of Cardinal Jules Saliège of Toulouse may forecast the Vatican's decision: "It is not the mission of a priest," he said, "to be a workers' leader. . . . He must teach the working class that justice can be attained by love only." The Cardinal said it was a doctrinal error to put "the liberation of the proletariat before its conversion."

Meanwhile the worker-priests are going quietly about their work and refusing to discuss the situation. Their number has grown from 7 to 90, and 150 young aspirants are waiting for the doors of the seminary to reopen.

EGON POHORYLES is a free-lance journalist now living in Paris.

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BOOKS

The Perennial China Tangle

THE CHINA TANGLE. By Herbert Feis. Princeton University Press. $6.

By O. Edmund Clubb

HERBERT FEIS'S new book makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the American effort in China from Pearl Harbor (December, 1941) to the Marshall Mission (December, 1945). The author utilizes new data, many of them drawn from original records of the State Department, to clarify some episodes left obscure in the 1949 White Paper on China and to present a coordinated story. As he says, it makes "a tale of crumpled hopes and plans that went awry."

Feis recounts how when Pearl Harbor brought China its longed-for alliance Chiang Kai-shek promptly outlined his ideas for a great coalition—including the U. S. S. R.—in the Pacific under American leadership. "But time and events were all against him." The Anglo-American allies were in grave difficulties, the U. S. S. R. professed inability to cooperate in the war against Japan at that time, and the first large concepts of how the Pacific war should be waged were whittled down to fit the Anglo-American grand strategy for three continents. Secretary of War Stimson defined China's place within the framework of the feasible: "Strategically, the object of American policy in this area [China-Burma-India theater] was to keep China in the war, and so to strengthen her that she might exact a constantly growing price from the Japanese invader." The primary responsibility for achieving those objectives was given to General Joseph W. Stilwell.

The Nationalists had anticipated that American war matériel and other aid would shortly reach China. Under the stress of competing priorities, and with the heartbreaking task of air-lifting in all cargo over the perilous "Hump," they were regularly disappointed respecting the quantity of such aid. The American side was also frustrated, for the persistent attempts of everyone from Stilwell to President Roosevelt to get the Chinese army into effective action against the Japanese were balked by the National Government. The author notes: ". . . the reckonings of the Chinese government were diffused. The world-wide war against the Axis had to be won. But the while it was being won the Chiang Kai-shek regime wanted to be sure that it would survive in power." Far from acceding to American proposals to deploy *both* Nationalist and Communist forces against the Japanese enemy, Generalissimo Chiang rigidly kept some 400,000 Nationalist troops engaged in pinning the Communists down in the Northwest. He put his feeling into his 1944 response to Vice-President Wallace's urging: "Please do not press; please understand that the Communists are not good for the war effort against Japan." Nationalist-Communist relations were a prime factor in "the China tangle."

IN 1944 victory was in sight in Europe, but crisis ruled in China. The Nationalist armies were scattering before the first major Japanese drive since 1938. "There were signs of discontent among the peasants; and students, intellectuals, and government officials . . . were turning toward the [Communist] regime in the north." And, also, a change affecting Sino-American relations began. Stilwell was replaced by General Albert C. Wedemeyer in October, and the experienced ambassador, Clarence E. Gauss, was succeeded by General Patrick J. Hurley in November. Those shifts were only the first of a whole series of removals of hard-trained China experts from the scene.

It should be noted—though it was not by Feis—that the Nationalists and Communists had been in negotiation from May to September, 1944, with the aim of solving peacefully the problems outstanding between them. Hurley's assigned task was "to keep China in the war, to keep the Chinese army in the field, and to unify all Chinese forces against Japan"—the change in policy emphasis being incorporated in the final clause. He approached the unification problem with optimistic concepts formulated after talks with Molotov en route to China, and in November signed as witness, with Mao Tse-tung, a formal proposal for the establishment of a coalition National Government. This was promptly rejected by the Nationalists. Although the United States government from this time onward put increasing emphasis on the fostering of that unification which would enable China to function in the post-war period as the great power it had been acclaimed to be at Cairo, V-J Day saw no change in the basic domestic situation: "The [National] Government was unwilling to agree to a coalition arrangement in which its power to prevail might be shaken or lost. The Communists were unwilling to consent to anything else."

On August 28, 1945, Hurley brought Mao Tse-tung personally from Yenan to Chungking for further negotiations. The talks failed to keep pace with the military movements. Wedemeyer warned that the Nationalists were unprepared for the occupation of Manchuria in the face of Communist opposition, but Chiang clung to his own plans. The military prospect darkened. In November, Hurley suddenly resigned, blasting both "professional foreign-service men" and "colonial imperialism," but evidently without having changed his opinion about either the Chinese Communists or the feasibility of achieving Nationalist-Communist reconciliation.

It was then that General George C. Marshall was selected to go to China. Feis sheds new light on the thought and action resulting in the creation of the Marshall Mission with its two chief aims: "to develop a united and democratic China," and "to assure that the National Government would be able to extend its sovereignty over Manchuria." Those objectives were a natural extension of the "unification" function undertaken so vigorously by Hurley. It is at this point that Feis leaves off the tale and sums up the American effort in point as having had four related ends: "to uphold the Chinese people in the

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O. EDMUND CLUBB, a retired foreign-service officer of the State Department, spent twenty years in various Far Eastern posts, eighteen of those years in China.

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war against the common enemy; to restore China as a whole and independent country; to secure for China a place of great authority among the nations; and to bring to an end the grave social struggle among the Chinese people." In the end only the first objective was attained. But that objective, of course, was the only one respecting which the United States bore direct responsibility.

THIS REVIEWER believes that Feis's book has a basic shortcoming: it oversimplifies the Chinese aspect of the "tangle." The main concern may be with the American effort, but the author necessarily projects that effort against the China background—which he then presents with important gaps. The story lacks that integrated analysis of the Chinese political situation which is essential for an incisive interpretation of China developments. The brief historical sketch of early Kuomintang-Communist relations given in Chapter 9 is inadequate. So is the description of the 1937 agreement between the two antagonists for a united front which, technically at least, lasted out the war. Communist leader Chou En-lai occupied an official position in the National Government in 1938-40, and during the rest of the war period functioned as Communist liaison officer at Chungking.

Two other vital aspects of Chinese politics are largely neglected. First, Chiang Kai-shek, although the dominant figure, was not the Kuomintang. That party was and is split into various factions of divergent outlooks and influence, and one could name a hundred powerful Nationalists who played their roles in China's war years. To illustrate: any history of the period which omits mention of the conservative C-C clique and the Political Science Group in relation to the determination of policy, and of C-C leader Ch'en Li-fu and secret-police chief Tai Li in relation to the operation of the Kuomintang rule, and does no more than identify Chief of Staff Ho Ying-ch'in, leaves out essential elements. Second, there were other political groupings in "Free China" besides the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Six of those minor parties finally combined into the Democratic League to constitute a middle-of-the-road party. This group included large numbers of patriotic Chinese, academicians and intellectuals especially, who felt that the time had come for a broadening of the National Government's base. This concept had support in the liberal wing of the Kuomintang.

The proposals for a coalition government were thus not originally American: they were born of a widespread non-Communist *Chinese* demand that the civil war that had run from 1927 to 1937 should not be resumed when Japan was beaten but that a political solution should be sought. This demand began to take form with the establishment in 1938 of the multi-party People's Political Council. But the concept that finally governed was that voiced by Chiang Kai-shek in his 1943 book "China's Destiny": "China's destiny rests entirely with the Kuomintang." The National Government on July 4, 1947, declared the Communists to be in open rebellion and in October of the same year outlawed the Democratic League. The Wedemeyer report of September, 1947, cogently describes the then advanced state of popular disillusionment. When that middle group shifted its allegiance, the collapse of the Kuomintang mainland rule followed. The men and women who abandoned the Kuomintang conservative wing are now found in large numbers in the United States, Hongkong, Japan—and in Peking. That, after all, is why the National Assembly on Formosa lacks a quorum.

The events of China's war years, 1937-45, offer lessons of substantial value for those who would anticipate events and devise adequate policies in respect to neighboring, non-Communist areas in Asia. An observation by Clausewitz is suggestive: "We may . . . say, that the twenty years' victories of the [French] Revolution are chiefly to be ascribed to the erroneous policy of the Governments by which it was opposed." And he laid down "a maxim which should take first place among all causes of victory in the modern art of war: 'Pursue one great decisive aim with force and determination.'" It was beyond the scope of Feis's book to speculate whether it will prove more feasible to construct an adequate, coherent China policy now, when "the China tangle" has become commingled with American domestic politics. But the question lingers to plague our policy-makers.

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New Books in Brief

Colette at Her Best

MY MOTHER'S HOUSE AND SIDO. By Colette. Translated by Enid McLeod and Una Troubridge. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50.

A third volume in the projected translation of the complete works of Colette, who is now past eighty and regarded by many of her compatriots as the greatest living French writer. If there are any Americans who still think of her in terms of the naughty paperbacks, these charming reminiscences of a busy childhood in a provincial town should complete their reeducation. Nostalgic as well as witty and humorous, the tone is unique and not easy to describe. There is sentiment without sentimentality, mockery without scorn, and sensibility not incompatible with a good deal of tough-mindedness. All these qualities Colette must have learned first from her aloof but humorous father and from the busy mother who was obviously the brains as well as the boss of the family. Despite very modest circumstances she grew up with her brothers and her half-sister in an easygoing household where everybody followed his hobbies and where there were always prolific cats and dogs to be looked after and a large garden to play in. Writers traditionally have unhappy childhoods, but Colette's, if we can believe her memories, must have been very nearly ideal. If she got any of what is usually called "training" she does not mention it, and the lack of it was apparently precisely what she needed. All in all, the two short collections included in this volume present one aspect of the French temperament at its most attractive.

English Classics Reexamined

THE ENGLISH NOVEL: FORM AND FUNCTION. By Dorothy Van Ghent. Rinehart. $4.

In these essays eighteen of the most familiar English novels, ranging from "Don Quixote" (an honorary member) to "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man," are examined with an active critical perception that even the most faithful readers of novels will find illuminating. Mrs. Van Ghent discovers and explores broad planes of interest that lie below the surfaces of these classic narratives. She is especially astute at revealing some principle of structure, such as a symbol, an antithesis, or a design, that gives a novel a secret power. She demonstrates, for example, that the language of "Pride and Prejudice" reflects its conflict, that the rapacious selfishness of Meredith's egoist suggests a fetus, and that Clarissa Harlowe, in remaining both virtuous and desirable, embodies the somewhat contradictory qualities necessary for a middle-class goddess of love. Both Dickens and Henry James, it seems, were concerned with the same sin—the tendency to regard people as lifeless instruments. Dickens, in fact, went farther, endowing inanimate objects with strange life of their own, and in describing the causes and implications of this transference Mrs. Van Ghent brings forth some new and fundamental facts about Dickens's art and his criticism of society.

Fifty Years of Ibn Saud

ARABIAN JUBILEE. By H. St. J. B. Philby. John Day. $6.

It was early in 1902 that 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Faisal Al Sa'ud, better known as Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia, sallied forth from exile in Kuwait with a small band of followers and regained his ancestral domain of Najd in the heart of Arabia. Reckoning by the Moslem calendar, 1950 was therefore his Jubilee year and this biography was written to celebrate the occasion. Its author is an Englishman who became a Moslem some twenty-five years ago and settled in Saudi Arabia, where he has represented such concerns as Marconi Wireless and Ford Motors. Friend and confidant of the King, Philby denies that he has ever had any official connection with the Saudi Arabian government. Be that as it may, he has very ably attended to its public relations with the West, and this book, particularly the chapter on Palestine, must be read with that fact in mind.

To do Philby justice, his book is not all eulogy. His admiration for his sub-

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ject is tinged with candor, and if he has little to say about the King's faults, he gives some amusing examples of his foibles, including particulars of his matrimonial exploits that suggest a prodigious Kinsey rating. A dashing military leader in his younger days, later a shrewd and cautious diplomat, Ibn Saud has shown immense skill in holding together the scattered tribes under his rule and in maintaining his independence. Where he has failed, Philby thinks, is in building an administrative machine for a state that is moving away from pastoral simplicity toward the machine age. As a result much of the immense wealth accruing from oil royalties is being frittered away.

The Young Freud

THE LIFE AND WORK OF SIGMUND FREUD. Volume I. *1856-1900.* The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries. By Ernest Jones, M.D. Basic Books. $6.75.

The four hundred pages of this first of two projected volumes carries Freud's story down to the publication of his first major book, "The Interpretation of Dreams." There is an elaborate discussion of the genesis of Freud's ideas and an occasional brief reference to the supposed influence of more or less traumatic experiences upon his life and character, but the major part of the volume is devoted to detailed biographical facts of the conventional sort. Since the author knew his subject intimately, has been accepted by the family as the authorized biographer, and has long been a leader of the American Freudians, this will no doubt be a standard work. Though any attempt to write a "popular life" is explicitly disclaimed, anyone genuinely interested in the subject will find the volume pleasantly readable.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

AS OF this writing the Metropolitan is strike bound, and the important shows in the offing at the Whitney, the Guggenheim, and the Museum of Modern Art are not yet accessible. A rather miscellaneous group of small exhibitions will, therefore, be covered here.

One of the most ingratiating of these is a selection of early works by Winslow Homer (Maynard Walker Gallery, through November 6). A score of small oils, water colors, and drawings, all from the period 1865-80, give a sympathetic view of this American master at his best. As the largest picture measures hardly two feet, the show invites one to meditate on the relations between a modest scale and a powerful impact. To use a good phrase of Frank Jewett Mather, these are little giants of pictures. They do not open little windows on infinity as does Paul Klee (at the Curt Valentin Gallery through October 24). While they are less imaginative than Klee's little poems, they are more plastic and physical, and in painting that is not a disadvantage.

Homer's early work offers a priceless experience. The discovery that a little picture is small only in size can be positively liberating, as it often is in Corot, in Fouquet's two-inch self-portrait in enamel, in Daumier, and in Chardin. All these masters deal primarily in the physical world, and if they invoke the invisible they are never implausible even by the most pedestrian standards. While this very plausibility is often mistaken for creativeness, a sure sign of the creative power of these artists resides precisely in our discovery that the actual size of the picture is pure illusion as far as its effect is concerned.

The largest of these small Homers, In the White Mountains (lent by the Brooklyn Museum), manages to convey with utmost economy the dark majesty of a great mountain under a leaden sky, the primly Bostonian tramp of some young ladies up its slope, and the gay splash of light on their hats and dresses. The effect is at once very strong and enchantingly innocent. Perhaps this is why the flavor seems so profoundly American—an observation I venture to make even in the face of the tremendous

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cultural changes that have come over America since Homer's day. There are several paintings of children, fiercely absorbed in their play, or leaning on a rail fence oblivious of time and place, or wading knee-high through the grasses of a great mowing—any of these kids might have stepped from the pages of Mark Twain. Both the writer and the painter make you hear the crickets and sense the sultry haze. Everyone is caught, in early Homer, in a kind of muted trance, and thus the portrayal of moral innocence, which could be very tiresome, becomes poetic.

THE SIDNEY JANIS Gallery is celebrating its fifth anniversary with an exhibition of some thirty paintings sold to museums and private collectors, and the catalogue extends the number through its excellent reproductions to sixty. The artists represented are primarily European, and all of them are twentieth-century masters. The shift from Homer, as I experienced it, was dramatic, but it did not lessen Homer's stature: the limits of the true artist are disciplined and self-imposed. That is why, perhaps, the five fine examples of Picasso from the vintage years 1909-15 are more reassuring than some of the large retrospectives of his work have been. As I see more pictures I resist increasingly the shock value of rapid changes of style, and I find it rewarding to demand, as one demands of the masters of all times, specific masterpieces rather than brilliant suggestions for new departures. It is possible to confuse the quality of an artist with his influence on other artists. In this exhibition, however, Picasso's quality is very sure.

The Janis show includes a distinguished room of Fauve paintings by Braque, Vlaminck, Matisse, and Derain, and the late Bonnards (1940-45) hung with them are tonally harmonious. We should beware classifications of Bonnard as a belated Impressionist. There is a fine Kandinsky of his best time (1913), and two of Leger's must rank among his most powerful smaller pictures—Contraste de Formes (1913) and the dramatically serene Les Odalisques, in the classic vein of 1920, here drawing upon a muted autumnal color scheme as a foil for its abrupt patterns of black and white. The big late Mondrian, Trafalgar Square (1939-43), has a welcome complexity which brings it into relation with his less rectilinear work of about 1914.

Stefano Cusmano's exhibition (Passedoit Gallery, through October 31) gives evidence of artistic power. Cusmano sees the world in terms of bold scale, like a muralist, and perhaps for that reason his largest works make the strongest impact, and the smaller ones, except for the tightly laced Offerings, seem to be fragments. He speaks through a low-keyed harmony of grays, pinks, and neutrals, with accents of blue-green. There is a strong sensation of classical Italy, but it is neither imitative nor nostalgic, despite an abundance of plaster busts in his repertory of forms. This artist is an American, and though his America is perhaps less authentic than Homer's, I shall not quarrel with him about that.

What I do quarrel with is self-conscious attempts to be national, or rather provincial, a quality of which we have all too much, particularly from painters who emerge mainly in summertime.

Theater

Harold Clurman

TO PUT it as succinctly as possible, Victor Borge's one-man show, which he calls "Comedy in Music" (Golden Theater), made me laugh, while André Roussin's "The Little Hut" (Coronet Theater) did not. Yet I have more to say about "The Little Hut" than about Victor Borge.

The success of the Danish American comic is easy to explain: he is spontaneous, facile, witty—a showman, a clown, and an observer (he imitates pianistic idiosyncrasies marvelously well)—and yet he remains natural and comparatively normal, a rare quality among our native comics, who generally turn to the grotesque. Borge has learned a few American tricks from night clubs and TV,

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as evidenced by his manner of dishing it out, but what he serves is unusual in its Continental sophistication and sauciness.

"The Little Hut," though less than a trifle, has begun to bother me as if it were a problem. I have seen it three times: once in Paris with Fernand Gravet, again in London with Robert Morley, and now in New York with its least suitable cast. The play was enormously successful in Paris and London, but I confess that in both these places it amused me almost as little as here.

It is a truism of the theater that what makes a play, together with the written text, is the actors and, most important, the audience. For if what you have on the stage is not compatible in its premises, atmosphere, and total spirit with the audience's *mores*, assumptions, and modes of mind and feeling, you have no play. That is why it is unlikely that Racine, Goethe, Strindberg, even Pirandello will ever be popular in this country. What is true on this high level is even truer on less exalted levels.

In Paris "The Little Hut" was a somewhat smutty joke—the story deals with a husband and lover who decide to share the wife's favors on alternate weeks during their stay on a desert island where they have been stranded. Jokes about so classical—that is, common and recognizable—a situation as the sexual triangle are welcome to the Parisian theater audience. But whereas sex—which the Parisian playwright is pleased to call *l'amour*—is an accredited institution in the French theater, it is not, so to speak, officially received in London. For sex to be admitted and enjoyed by the London theatergoer, he must believe that its existence on the stage is somehow or other fictitious.

Robert Morley's performance in the London version of "The Little Hut" was a triumph of comic make-believe over sex. He simply eliminated it. He was delightfully neuter. He made the whole show into a sort of zany fable having only an oblique and charmingly distorted relation to reality. Oliver Messel's highly stylized setting—a fashionably "primitive" tropical island that looked like a combination of children's-book illustration and a travel ad in a smart-set magazine—seemed like the natural habitat for the play's characters.

In the New York production the actors play as English drawing-room comedians, and though the drawing-room is also a theatrical convention, it is too close to actuality to make the play acceptable to us. If it is taken as real it is slightly offensive; if it is taken as spoof it is too long and arduous to be funny. If the joke is supposed to be on the British upper middle class, as at moments it seems to be in the present production, it becomes unbelievable in any vein.

For myself, I find I can take stage sex for its general human or its sensual, sentimental, violent, and sometimes even obscure values; I cannot take it denatured—as mere entertainment. I find Feydeau's farce "Take Care of Amélie" completely engaging in its mingling of crazy ingenuity, social satire, and wickedly frank sexuality. I find fun in Mae West's vulgarly arch play-acting or lampoon of sex in "Diamond Lil." With a little effort I can be indulgent toward the coyness of "The Moon Is Blue" and benevolent toward the fantasies and fears implied in "The Seven Year Itch," but I have always been bored with "The Little Hut," in which sex is treated as if it didn't matter.

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BERLIOZ'S Requiem, listened to again with the score, provided one of the summer's overwhelming musical experiences; and the RCA Victor recording of the performance of Verdi's "Otello" broadcast by Toscanini in 1947 provided another.

In early Verdi we are aware of extraordinary powers—above all the melodic power that produces the succession of wonderful melodic structures in "Il Trovatore." But even in early Verdi we get, in the Sleepwalking Scene of "Macbeth," an astounding manifestation of the art which later—developed, enriched, subtilized—gives us *Ella giammai m'amo* in "Don Carlo," the Nile Scene in "Aida," and from beginning to end in "Otello" the sustained incandescent invention that overwhelms us by the way it fills in moment after moment out of a seemingly inexhaustible source of marvelously wrought details of melody, harmony, figuration, and orchestration—like the orchestral passage which leads, in Act 2, from Desdemona's *Splende il cielo* at the end of the choral interlude to her *D' un uomo che geme* addressed to Otello, or the developing violin figure and subtle harmonic progressions of Otello's *Dio! mi potevi scagliar* in Act 3.

And listening to the records we are overwhelmed by the succession of these

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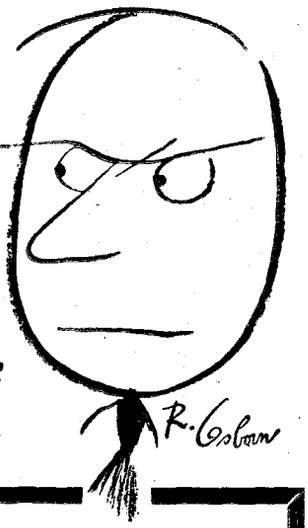

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details not only as they were imagined and set down in the score by Verdi but as they are realized in the living sound of the performance. It isn't likely that the orchestral part has ever been played by an orchestra of the caliber of the NBC Symphony—which is to say, with such precision and refinement of execution, such beauty and refinement of tone (never, I am sure, has the solo cello's introduction to the love duet been played as it is by Frank Miller at the end of side 1). Nor is it likely that—except in other Toscanini performances—the vocal parts have been sung with such accuracy and such refinement of style, in addition to the tonal beauty and subtle expressive coloring of Giuseppe Valdengo's singing as Iago, the purity and loveliness of Herva Nelli's singing as Desdemona (Ramon Vinay, the Otello, on the other hand, achieves delicacy only with disturbing effort, and ringing sonority at times with a disturbing quaver). Nor, finally, is it likely that—except in other Toscanini performances—the vocal and orchestral parts have been integrated so precisely in a progression so completely achieved and finished, so clear in outline and texture, so unfailingly continuous in impetus, tension, shape, and force. It is in fact the sustained operation of Toscanini's powers as well as Verdi's that is overwhelming.

For this experience we must thank not only Verdi and Toscanini but the anonymous Victor engineers who transferred the performance from the original NBC recordings of the broadcasts to the tape from which the LP records are derived, and whose technical skill and patience achieved the remarkably good sound we hear. Victor informs us that in the process of transfer "a number of technical improvements were made"; but unfortunately one of these improvements, the addition of resonance, is carried to the point of a defect—i.e., the point where the voices are coarsened.

And some people have a special reason for gratitude to everyone who made these records possible. The broadcasts of "Otello" in 1947 required an additional quarter-hour; and NBC in New York canceled the program regularly scheduled for 6:15 so that they could begin then instead of the usual 6:30. But not all of NBC's affiliated stations in other cities did the same, as I learned from a reader in Rochester, N. Y., who wrote me that music-lovers there were deprived—presumably both times—of the first fifteen minutes of Toscanini's performance of "Otello" while WHAM broadcast the Answer Man's answers to questions like "Which end of a cow is heavier?" This reader spoke of his "sense of never-to-be-recovered loss"; but the loss has now been recovered.

Having issued the shockingly defective recordings of some of Toscanini's performances of Beethoven symphonies in last spring's limited edition (whether the records of this fall's unlimited edition produce better sound I haven't yet had an opportunity to hear), Victor now gives us breathtakingly beautiful reproduction of the marvelous playing of the NBC Symphony under Toscanini's direction in Respighi's "Fountains of Rome"—with reproduction of "The Pines of Rome" that is equally beautiful but includes a broken note at the beginning of the oboe solo in the Janiculum episode, another discontinuity in the clarinet solo at the end of that episode, and a cutting down of the volume that Toscanini builds up in the final crescendo. And with similar perversity Victor, which cannot be persuaded to provide the needed texts with a record of songs or arias, issues the Respighi record in a volume with one double-page and twelve single-page photographs of Roman pines and fountains and accompanying text by Vincent Sheehan—none of which is needed in listening to the music.

Several of the seven Scarlatti Sonatas recorded on the harpsichord by Sylvia Marlowe (Remington) are unfamiliar to me; and of these Longo No. 257 is unusual, strange, and impressive, but No. 206 is uninteresting. The rest are characteristically engaging. Also on the record are Bach's fine Toccata in D and Couperin's "Les Folies françaises," of which I like a few of the pieces, but not others. Miss Marlowe still pounds her instrument at times; but these are more agreeable performances than I recall.

The moment-to-moment invention of Debussy's "La Boîte à joujoux," in his delicate and tenuous ironic style, is so closely tied up with the many incidents of a children's ballet as not to provide a satisfyingly coherent musical experience when listened to by itself. Menahem Pressler's performance of the original piano version seems good (MGM).

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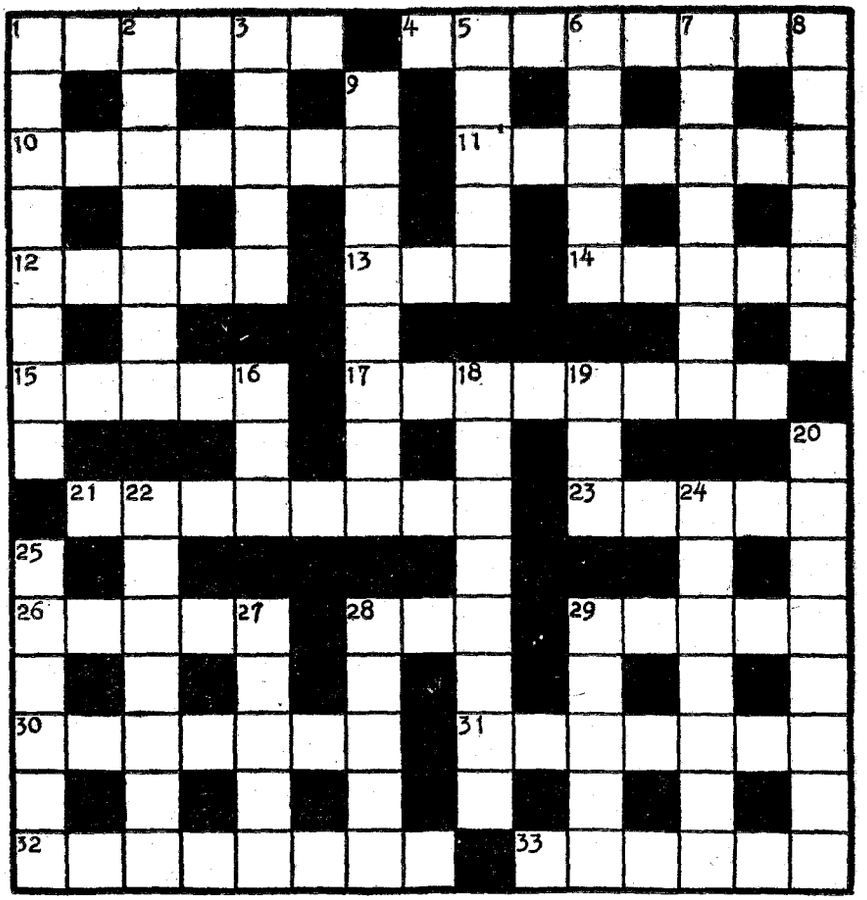
Crossword Puzzle No. 538

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Piper cub, useful when business is booming in a small way. (6)
4 Part of a battery which should be associated with Sir Robert Peel? (3, 5)
10 and 11 Made by shutting up at the wrong time? (5, 2, 7)
12 Evidently he dotes on being a playwright. (5)
14 Within the power of either sex to lift. (5)
15 She should turn around lazily. (5)
17 Do tunics get chewed up by moths? (8)
21 Sort of cross, perhaps, so run the wrong direction. (8)
23 He takes the measure of 28 across. (5)
26 The head of 22. (5)
28 Cast down by 23. (3)
30 Absurdly. (7)
31 George Meredith wrote of such a marriage. (7)
32 Musicians costume. (8)

DOWN

1 and 9 Not Sunkist, but might be associated with a definite rule. (3, 5, 2, 6)
2, 29 across, 13, 33 In which misunderstood dialects prove a significant clue. (7, 2, 3, 3, 6)
3 No progress without them. (5)
5 Chalk goes here as the player speaks. (2, 3)
6 Not very fast, certainly. (5)
8 Gammer Gurton's was one of the first English comedies. (6)
16 Reticulations produce a clear profit. (3)
19 Spenser's personification of truth. (3)
20 Allure of living with "ease"? (8)
22 With an eye to them, some think they have no peers. (7)
24 If a terrier was, would that be telling? (7)
27 This is assumed as a token. (5)
28, 18, 7 and 25 What is one in short? A horse, that is! (5, 8, 7, 6)
29 I'm long since an adult, albeit a pretty small specimen! (5)

• ✠ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 537

ACROSS:—1 ATONALLY; 5 ISLAND; 9 POT SHOT; 10 LIMNING; 11 CHANNEL; 12 TERMITE; 13 THIMBLERIGGER; 15 TUESDAY'S CHILD; 21 CUBICAL; 22 RAPHAEL; 23 IMITATE; 24 INROADS; 25 GLEAMS; 26 DRESSERS.

DOWN:—1 ASPECT; 2 OUTLAST; 3 ASHANTI; 4 LITTLE BOY BLUE; 6 SAMURAI; 7 ABIDING; 8 DOGBERRY; 10 LETTER CARRIER; 14 STOCKING; 16 EBB TIDE; 17 DECLAIM; 18 IMPARTS; 19 DIABASE; 20 CLOSES.

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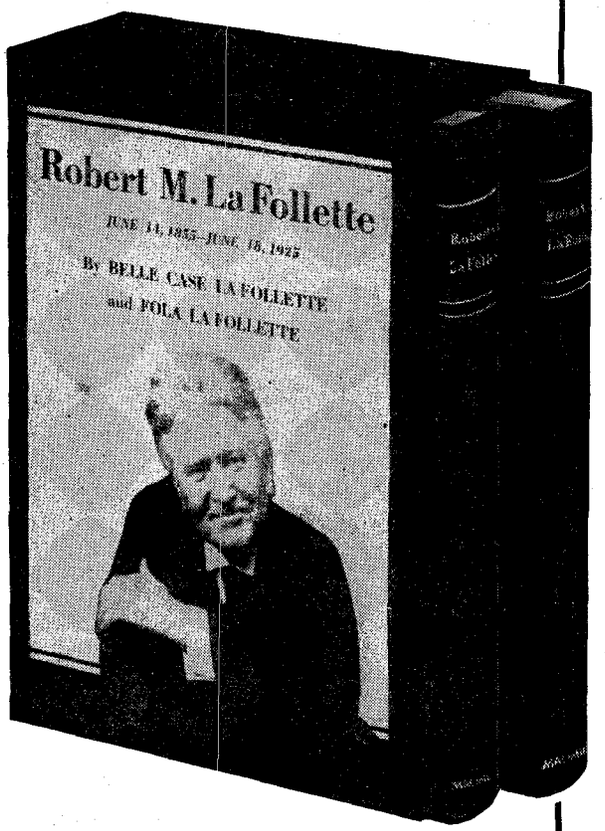

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